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A digest of research articles used in social research and social action was presented. Divided into different areas, the articles were condensed into abstracts.

The articles of general interest were concerned with such subjects as segregation in an industrial society and recognition of the role of minorities.

Segregation and integration in various institutional areas covered such topics as Negroes in American cities, racially changing neighborhoods, de facto segregation, and Negroes in the agricultural labor force.

Legal aspects of segregation included articles about the role of the private school, anti-NAACP laws, and leaders involved in segregation.

Segregation and the mass media discussed the areas of regional segregation, the newspaper's role in segregation, and the role of mass media.

The area of attitudes about segregation included articles on white Southerners, relationship between projection and prejudice, authoritarian attitudes, and readiness and resistance to desegregation.

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Supplement

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Research and Materials Branch

Bennett O. Stalvey

A digest of recent research

1956-1959

By Melvin M. Tumin

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Supplement

Segregation and Desegregation

A digest of recent research 1956-1959

by
Melvin M. Tumin
Associate Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Princeton University

This Supplement was published under a grant from the Kenneth Malcolm Ellis Memorial Fund.

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

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Foreword

In 1957, the Anti-Defamation League published a digest of research articles entitled SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION. That volume proved useful to numbers of people engaged both in social research and social action. The Anti-Defamation League has therefore seen fit to encourage and sponsor a supplement to the 1957 volume, to cover materials published between July 1956 and September 1959.

Since the Supreme Court orders in 1954 and 1955, our entire society has been undergoing dramatic changes, many of which are subject to on-the-spot observation and to panel-study. In spite of the dearth of support for research in desegregation since 1955, it is gratifying to note that nearly as much research has appeared in the last three years as in the previous five years. The productivity of researchers during this period of sparse support is testimony to the great interest which the process of desegregation and resistance to desegregation has engendered, and is evidence of the sensitivity of scholars to the issues of their times and places.

The existence of a substantial body of material has necessitated, as in the earlier volume, a good deal of selection and condensation. The bases on which the selection was made are the same now as in the 1957 volume. As then, so on this occasion, the final decision as to which pieces to include, and how extensive a review of any single item should be presented, has been mine alone. The Anti-Defamation League is not to be held responsible for any of the acts of commission or omission which are represented in and by this present digest.

Once again, too, I have omitted all materials from journals of professional education and have excluded reference to most of the longer works of book length. We have been fortunate in the plethora of books, many of them excellent, which have appeared since July 1956.

I have also not attempted to make available here any systematic references to the *Race Relations Reporter*, a journal, primarily legal, but far broader in scope than is thereby implied, published at Vanderbilt University, edited by Professor Paul Sanders. It is an invaluable reference source for students of social process.

My most valuable source of information and guide to materials that would surely otherwise have escaped my attention has been Mr. Oscar Cohen, director of the program division of the Anti-Defamation League. Professor Peter Rose of Goucher College also has been helpful in directing me to recent research materials.

MELVIN M. TUMIN

Articles of General Interest

JOHNSON, GUY, B., "Freedom, Equality and Segregation," ***The Review of Politics*** Vol. 20, No. 2, April, 1958, pp. 147-163.

The author recounts briefly the history of segregation of Negroes since the Civil War. It is his belief "that compulsory legal segregation on the basis of race or color is an arbitrary restraint upon freedom and a denial of equality before the law. It is inconsistent with our national charter because it involves the government in the very subversion of the very principles upon which it is founded." Although there are certain ethical and social mores which cause effective segregation in the North, there are no governmental laws which enforce such a subjugation of rights.

The belief that Southerners, once they had regained control of their state governments following the end of the Civil War and occupation, turned immediately to the legal reconstitution of White Supremacy is shown to be false. From the year 1870 to 1895 many examples are cited to prove that the Southern White not only failed to instigate Jim Crow laws but also did not even think them necessary. The reform movement caused by the great farm depression of the 1890's coupled with the hatred of the poorly educated Whites for the Negro brought on a rash of Jim Crow laws. The moderation which had characterized the relations between White and Black disappeared during this time.

In order to enforce Jim Crow legislation, much of which violated the tenets of the Fourteenth Amendment, the South needed and received the help of the United States Supreme Court. Beginning with the *Slaughter House Cases* of 1873, and reaching a peak in the *Plessy v. Ferguson Case* of 1896, the courts aided the battle to legally segregate the Negro from the White.

Many things like competition and interaction were curtailed because the authority of certain states supported the policy of legalized segregation and no region within a state could deviate from the path no matter what its real desires were. In addition, the Negro was denied the benefit of White "Tutelage" at a time when he most needed it, thus impairing his morale and motivation. Compulsory segregation has left many consequences, "and we shall be paying them for a long time to come."

The Southern White damaged himself with this system because he became a slave to fears and myths, stamping out any deviation from "orthodox race credo."

In consequence of the policy of legalized segregation, the Southern states consistently remain at the bottom of the "indices of human well-being" and have forfeited their "once outstanding position in the national political leadership."

The Negro today, as compared with the Negro of 1865, holds a far superior position. He has more than tripled in number, raised his standard of living and health immeasurably, and extended his talents into "every category of technical and professional employment." Between the years 1930 and 1958 the number of Negroes in college increased more than six-fold. Only a few Southern states continue to hold

out unyieldingly against integration. It is evident, therefore, that the real evil is "*compulsory* racial segregation and legislated superiority."

LUNDBERG, GEORGE, E., "Some Neglected Aspects of Integration,"
Modern Age Vol. 2, No. 3, Summer, 1958.

The basic assumption of the author is that minorities always have and always will compose the entirety of the populace of the world and that failure to recognize this fact is not only unrealistic but also impractical. Certain prejudices are considered by society as "respectable" and others are not; those which are not receive no public discussion because airing of such problems merely serves to reinforce the position of the minority and brings disrepute to the individual who questions the prejudice.

"Selectivity is the basis of humanity in society whether it be upon a physical, mental, or moral basis. The differences which form the criteria for such an attitude all have common factors: (1) they are observable; and (2) they are *significant* to those who react selectively to people with the characteristics in question." To attempt to remove such differences is as absurd as the attempt by some to remove racial distinctions from the world. Racial differences "are essential in accounting for selective association . . . or . . . whatever word the resulting discriminative behavior may be called." Such discrimination on racial bases is as old as the world itself.

Therefore, "it is entirely ludicrous to agitate against 'race,' 'discrimination,' and 'ethnocentrism' in general when in fact all we are opposed to are *particular patterns* of this behavior especially when they affect ourselves adversely."

Although it is not necessarily valid that differences of ability exist between races, it has also never been conclusively proven that such differences do *not* exist. In addition, people are judged on the basis of what they are, not what they might have been under a different social stratification.

It is not just Catholic, Jew, Negro, or Oriental that is discriminated against; tests have proven that status, such as being a newcomer, and physical characterisics, such as bowlegs or sex, provoke discrimination. The problem, however, usually "boils down to how two or three or a half dozen specific minorities can maintain and enjoy their ethnocentric identity and *at the same time* suffer no differential behavior of a negative or outgroup sort from the rest of the community." These tendencies manifest themselves and provoke the inevitable result in many ways:

(1) Any observable characteristic of a group provokes hostility if their aspirations are regarded as a threat by the dominant group.

(2) Conspicuous ethnocentrism on the part of any group provokes hostility of other groups.

(3) Political influence of one group out of all proportion to numbers provokes the hostility of the public.

(4) Conspicuous allegiance to any foreign group: racial, religious, or political, provokes such reactions when the allegiance takes precedence over that to their current homeland.

(5) Great activity and coercive techniques employed by any group also stirs resentment.

(6) Overconcentration in any profession, although of debatable objectionability, causes resentment of the whole toward a minority.

(7) Attempts to secure special privileges in favor of itself brings hostility to any minority.

Within each society are large-scale, exclusive-membership secondary groups. "The right to practice certain discriminations is among the most cherished rights of any people." To deny this right would be unjust and undemocratic, for no person should be capable of putting his values up as "best" for anyone other than himself.

Some criteria of selection must be practiced in all forms of life such as in admission to college and entrance into fraternities. It is just as acceptable for a fraternity to accept a Negro in the face of penalization by the national organization as it is to reject someone "*for any reason* (it) cares not to admit." It must be concluded that the right of ingroups to discriminate against outgroups always has and always will constitute a major function of democratic life.

SEEMAN, MELVIN, "On the Meaning of Inauthenticity"

(privately mimeographed.)

The "quest for identity" has come to be a matter of considerable sociological interest. Previous insights have been provided by various literary works and essays, e.g., Sartre's "Anti-Semite and Jew," A. Broyard's "Portrait of the Inauthentic Negro," and, most recently, the writings of James Baldwin.

Seeman sees inauthenticity as a case of mistaken identity, and seeks to operationalize the concept by illustrating certain common dimensions from a variety of status-disrupted situations. Four such situations are briefly analyzed: (1) Negro children's use of color as a basis of status distinctions; (2) school authorities' (principals, superintendents, etc.) unwillingness to confess difficulty in situations requiring a choice when asked in a formal questionnaire as compared to their private confessions of considerable difficulty; (3) hypersensitivity and hyposensitivity to Jewishness by Jews, in their responses to questionnaires composed of neutral sentence stems; (4) strain toward apologizing for supposed public-image of selves by a sample of university professors, who expressed, implicitly, their sharing of denigrated images.

Seeman points out that the unifying factors in these four cases are: (1) the inauthentic person bases his behavior on a distorted view of reality; (2) the distortion involves reference to some status occupancy. "The intellectual has a distorted idea of what others think of him; the Negro child has a distorted idea of what skin color intrinsically means; and the school leader distorts what he actually believes in the interests of presenting an acceptable stance to the outsider." The matter of Jewish inauthenticity is more difficult to clarify, since there is the question of how important *is* being Jewish? Seeman suggests that being Jewish is not enough to crowd out and dominate all other identities that are available for realization, nor unimportant enough to be categorically dismissed.

For further research the author suggests that a proper concept of inauthenticity must meet these standards: (1) must be a specifically social variant of maladjustment, focusing on the use the individual makes of the statuses and roles which are available to him; (2) must call attention to a crucial mistake; (3) must avoid being an apology for the status quo, or simply a piece of appealing rhetoric, i.e., it must be workable in a research sense.

The use of such a concept may aid us to understand better the ways in which the status stereotypes, as ready-made and socially compelling answer systems, come to rule behavior.

YINGER, MILTON, J. and SIMPSON, GEORGE E., "Can Segregation Survive in an Industrial Society?" ***The Antioch Review***
Spring, 1950, pp. 15-24.

There is an important tie between production methods and the many facets which compose society. Therefore, the speed of integration does not depend as much on an election or a court decision as on driving new forces present in American society; and one of the largest of these drives is industrialization, which receives the support of both integrationists and segregationists.

Southern drives toward industrialization create tendencies toward urbanization, unionization, diversification and income increases for all groups, but most especially for Negroes. In this society, the criteria of selection for jobs have become far more impersonal and functional than in the past.

The Negro in this growing South is becoming more and more advanced: his proportional income has markedly increased, his educational standard is up, and occupations have reached new heights in diversification. Many of the unions and large corporations legally deny discrimination in their dealings, while over one and one-quarter million Negroes are enrolled in labor unions of some sort. After World War II, the Fair Employment Practices Commission, although not enacted by Federal legislation, was constituted by succeeding Presidents as a new deterrent to discriminatory hiring within the Federal government. Many states also set up such committees.

Also indicative of this new trend is the rising Negro vote registration; from 70,000 in the Southern states of 1920, it has risen to some 1,400,000 in 1956; and, with the new court order on restrictions and primaries plus the Civil Rights Act of 1957, it is likely that some two to two and one-half million Negroes will vote within ten years. This, in turn, will spur greater interest in the political happenings of the country. The progress in the U. S. Army and the Southern schools, despite Little Rock and Clinton interludes, has been remarkable.

Although housing situations, spurred on by industrialization, often tend toward segregation in zoning, it must be granted that any weakness in the segregation position must be felt not locally but throughout its entirety. In short, "Although it will not disappear quietly or immediately, segregation is crumbling."

SHORT NOTICES:

See also:

1. Gordon, Milton M., "Social Structure and Goals in Group Relations," reprinted from *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1954, pp. 141-157.
2. Hager, Don. J., "Race, Nationality and Religion: Their Relationship to Appointment Policies and Casework," *National Probation and Parole Association Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 2, April, 1957, pp. 129-141.
3. Rose, Arnold, "The Course of the South," *Commentary*, Vol. 27, No. 6, June, 1959.
4. Tumin, Melvin M., "Sociological Aspects of Desegregation," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 29, No. 1, January, 1959.
5. Williams, R. M., Jr., Fisher, Burton R., and Janis, Irving L., "Educational Desegregation as a Context for Basic Social Science Research," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 21, No. 5, October, 1956.

Segregation and Integration in Various Institutional Areas

BELL, WENDELL, and WILLIS, ERNEST M., "The Segregation of Negroes in American Cities," ***Social and Economic Studies***

Vol. 6, No. 1, March, 1957, pp. 59-75.

This is a comparative study of residential segregation of Negroes in census tracts within six Standard Metropolitan Areas (S.M.A.) of continental United States. Because of absence of data, twelve of the larger SMA were not included. Seven of those on which data were available were excluded because their minute percentage of Negroes made it impractical to calculate indices.

Bell's probability model was used as index of segregation. No segregation exists if the proportion of Negroes in each of the census tracts of the city equals the proportion of Negroes in the city as a whole. Total segregation exists when all Negroes are contained within one census tract. No segregation is scored as 0, total segregation as 1.

Mean segregation index for the United States as a whole is .477. Range is from a low of .088 in Bridgeport, Connecticut, to a high of .796 in Norfolk, Virginia. Mean of South is .543; North Central states, .554; Western states, .290; Northeast, .364. Southern SMA were more homogeneous with standard deviation of .111.

Regression analysis was made of the influence of three variables: (1) region; (2) proportion of Negroes; and (3) total number of Negroes. In Northeast and North Central regions, both size of the Negro population and its proportion contribute to residential segregation variability; while in the West, total number of Negroes contributes all the variance. *In the South, neither size of Negro population nor its proportion accounts for any variance, beyond a mere 2 per cent.*

Interaction between total population and proportion contributes less to the variance than either of the variables separately.

The failure of total number and proportion to explain variance in segregation in the South may be due, the authors speculate, to the existence of two cut-off points. One is a minimum which must be reached before any pressure to segregate sets in (about 4 per cent, but this is variable); and the other, a saturation point beyond which segregation patterns have already been so well set that all larger percentages simply fit into existing patterns. This saturation point is around 24 per cent.

The influences of size and proportion are variable both between regions and within each region. Overall, about two-thirds of variance in all SMA taken together is accounted for by size and proportion of Negro population, and by region of occurrence.

Of considerable interest is the apparent *irrelevance* of the following factors: (1) size of total population; (2) total population growth rate, 1900-1950; (3) Negro population growth rate, 1920-1950; (4) per cent of total population in the Metropolitan ring; (5) population density of the central city; (6) per cent of the labor force employed in manufacturing; (7) age of SMA; (8) total population growth, 1940-1950.

Recognizing the fact that both size and proportion of Negro populations are increasing yearly in SMA outside of the South, the authors consider that an increase in segregation is to be expected in the non-Southern areas unless some type of preventive planning is undertaken.

DWYER, ROBERT J., "A Study of Desegregation and Integration in Selective School Districts of Central Missouri"

(Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation—University of Missouri.)

This dissertation describes the school desegregation patterns in seven communities in "Little Dixie." The small towns included were Fulton, Boonville, Centralia, Marshall, Columbia, Moberly and Fayette. Data were accumulated from school administrators and both Negro and White teachers and students through individual and group interview, by observation and by questionnaires. Varying degrees of integration have taken place at various grade levels in the different communities.

Among evidence uncovered were:

1. When administrative policy and action are clear, definite and firm, there is a minimum of opposition to the process of integration. When the policy vacillates, there is expressed opposition and a possibility of overt conflict.

2. When the administrator's attitudes are favorable toward integration, more opportunities exist for intergroup contact within the school organization. When his attitudes are negative, there will be a minimum of intergroup contact and limited participation by Negroes in school activities.

3. When desegregation is segmentalized—that is, not inclusive at all levels within a system—there is resistance on the part of the Whites immediately affected and on the part of those who fear that they will experience the same conflict situation.

4. Administrators anticipate more problems in the integration process than they actually experience. Objections are expressed more before the decision to integrate than after it is a fact.

5. The integration process works more smoothly and is more effective when there is no alternative for Negro students. When there is a choice of attending an integrated or all-Negro school, there is a basis for the opposition's argument that Negroes prefer segregation.

In regard to intergroup interaction, the data were related to the following propositions:

1. The lower the age and grade level, the more readily will students adjust to the process of integration.

2. Boys will adjust to the integration process more readily than girls. This will apply mainly to grade levels of the junior high school and the senior high school, as there is little sex distinction on the elementary level below the 6th grade.

3. There will be a greater number of informal associations on the elementary level than the secondary level.

4. There is little carry-over from one interactional situation to another. There will be more cases of interaction in the less socially intimate situations.

5. Personal association of members of different groups is effective in promoting the successful implementation of the integration process when the interaction is based upon a common goal, interest or task.

6. The longer an integrated situation continues, the more likely it is that there will be an increase in interaction.

7. The "self-fulfilling prophecy" operates by distorting realities that fit preconceived ideas by both Negroes and Whites. Expectations are perceived as actual events.

8. Intergroup communication will be deterred by the Negroes' fear of doing or saying something which fits the Whites' stereotypes regarding Negro behavior. Fear of making mistakes will result in non-participation and timidity.

9. The use of the "language of prejudice" will be a barrier to intergroup communication. That is, terms of contempt or derogation used intentionally or inadvertently will inhibit spontaneous, informal communication between Negro and White students.

10. The planning and execution of desegregation and the integration of Negroes into school activities will bring about greater communication between Negro and White adults.

The conclusions of this study undertaken in 1955-1956 were:

1. Desegregation and integration were proceeding in the public schools of Central Missouri with a minimum of conflict.

2. The customary patterns of behavior with respect to public school attendance and intergroup relations within schools were changed by law or judicial decree.

3. There is no uniformity with regard to the form and extent of desegregation. The dominant pattern is a gradual approach beginning on the secondary level.

4. The successful implementation of any integration program is dependent upon the attitudes and leadership qualities of school administrators.

5. There are some informal associations between Negro and White students within the desegregated schools, but few such associations outside of the framework of the school. There are more informal associations on the elementary school level than on the secondary level. Boys become members of friendship or clique groups to a greater extent than do girls.

6. When there are Negroes of exceptional ability in the desegregated school, the acceptance of the entire Negro group by the Whites is facilitated.

7. Social class status is a factor in the acceptance of Negro students by White students, teachers and administrators. Negroes with middle class characteristics are more readily accepted than are other Negro students.

8. The more formal and strictly educational situations are defined as appropriate more readily than the informal, more socially intimate situations.

9. Negro students rank lower in scholarship as a group than White students. The higher the grade level, the more noticeable this becomes.

10. Integration in schools of Central Missouri involves a relatively small number of Negroes. Being a small minority, Negro students are timid, inhibited, and have feelings of strangeness and uneasiness, even when they are encouraged by the Whites to participate in school situations.

11. There is little influence on community patterns of segregation as a result of the change in patterns of formal education with the exception of such quasi-educational activities as Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, PTA groups, etc.

12. Negro teachers can anticipate occupational displacement as desegregation progresses. As a result, the Negro teachers tend to be in favor of a gradual approach to desegregation.

13. Time is an important factor in the integration process, with a decrease of tension and fewer "incidents" or cases of overt conflict.

14. In the communities where desegregation in the school system was studied, historical backgrounds were very similar, yet there were varying degrees and types of resistance expressed by community members who opposed the change. This requires more extensive investigation of the communities themselves.

"HUMAN RELATIONS IN ANN ARBOR: 1956" *Ann Arbor Community Self-Survey*, December, 1956

". . . are Negroes given fair consideration for jobs on the basis of merit rathe than of race?"

Even when differences in level of education or type of job are taken into account, Negroes have less opportunity than Whites.

Hospitals and government units have relatively high records for employment of Negroes in white-collar jobs. But almost no Negroes are reported as employed in clerical jobs with utilities, manufacturing firms, stores, restaurants, and financial firms.

Hospitals, financial firms, service organizations (restaurants) and schools have high records in terms of manual jobs. Utilities and the academic university branches, in contrast, have very few Negroes employed in manual jobs. Manufacturers, as a whole, have an average record in manual work. . . .

Most White employees interviewed held white-collar jobs, most Negroes, manual jobs. The average White male earns fifty cents an hour more than the average Negro. These differences exist even when education is equal and jobs are similar.

Half of the Negroes interviewed felt that they were not able to use their highest skills at their jobs. Among those who tried to get jobs, half reported experiences suggesting discrimination, half did not. Negro men seemed more subject to this experience than women. Chances for any employment at all were felt to be good by both Negroes and Whites. No discrimination was reported in seeking education or training. Negroes depended on personal contacts for jobs, rather than on agencies, ads, etc. Labor union membership is the same for manual workers, whether Negro or White.

"THE INTEGRATION OF SCHOOLS IN ILLINOIS" (Illinois Commission on Human Relations), 1958 (mimeograph release.)

Movement toward integration of Illinois schools continues at a slow rate, although no school district has an official policy of segregation, compared with 1946 when "school segregation existed officially in 15 counties, and unofficially in a number of additional counties."

Most progress to end segregation in the last seven years has been accomplished by legislation, suits filed by citizens' groups, educational efforts of local human relations groups, and voluntary actions of local school authorities.

Statutes prohibiting segregation in public schools have existed in Illinois since 1874, but local tradition and housing patterns made possible the existence of all-Negro, or predominantly Negro, schools. In some instances, school boundaries have been gerrymandered to maintain the status quo.

Legislative prohibitions of segregation since the original act of 1874 include a 1949 Jenkins amendment to the school appropriations act, prohibiting state aid to segregated schools; and the 1951 House Bill 641, requiring any applicant for state aid to file a statement that the district has complied with non-segregation requirements. Further actions included a House Resolution in 1951 providing for a committee to investigate a failure to end segregation.

Reasons for continued segregation include hold-over traditions in southern parts of the state, minimizing integration even though it is officially permitted. In the northern part of the state, residential segregation of Negroes is the major cause of school segregation. This is expected to become intensified, with an increase in non-White population, if school boundary lines are drawn "to promote racially homogeneous student bodies." Redistricting, to promote integration, could reduce the number of predominantly Negro schools in large metropolitan areas.

KERCKHOFF, RICHARD K., "A Study of Racially Changing Neighborhoods," ***Merrill Palmer Quarterly*** Vol. 3, Fall, 1957, pp. 15-50.

Why do some Whites sell homes to Negroes in heretofore all-White neighborhoods, and why do others refuse to do so? What kinds of controls operate? How is opposition demonstrated? Why do some Negroes buy homes in predominantly White neighborhoods, while others, equally economically able, do not do so? Why do some Whites move while others stay when Negroes begin to invade a neighborhood?

In an effort to answer these questions, interviews were held with residents from two neighborhoods in Northwest Detroit. Sample consisted of presumably influential people, including six White families who sold, six Negro families who bought, six White families who expected to stay even though Negroes were moving in, and three White families who had already moved out.

The findings support the generalizations available in the literature. Motives to move included considerations of social status, fear of depreciation of property values, personal antipathy to Negroes, etc. Since both neighborhoods were rather ideal targets for new Negro housing, there was general expectation that both neighborhoods would sooner or later become mixed. Outside realtors played on all these themes. Local neighborhood control was ineffective, largely because it was poorly organized, exerted too late, and the breakthrough had already occurred by the time any pressure could be brought to bear.

Negroes who moved in did so apparently out of simple desires for better housing and neighborhood. Middle-class in outlook and income, they quickly proceeded to improve their new housing. Their qualities made it easier for some of the Whites to stay. Whites who sold to Negroes were not deviant in any noticeable sense from the rest of their neighbors. Whites who stayed were similarly not deviant except for the extra-strong influence of low-cost housing which their residences represented. Considerable community influence was brought to bear to encourage and commend these people for staying.

"DE FACTO SEGREGATION IN CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS," National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Chicago Branch), 1958 (mimeograph publication.)

This is one of several studies, with accompanying charts and maps, prepared by the NAACP to support its claims regarding actual segregation in public schools in Chicago, Illinois, in spite of the existence of laws to the contrary. De facto segregation was considered to exist if 90 per cent or more of the population of a school was made up of Negroes. In Chicago elementary schools, "of 355 listed in a 1956 school directory, 32 or 9 per cent are mixed racially; 250 or 70 per cent are predominantly White (90 per cent or more non-Negro pupils); 73 or 21 per cent, predominantly Negro (90 per cent or more Negro pupils). In other words, we estimate that 91 per cent of the Chicago elementary schools were *de facto* segregated in the Spring semester of 1957." The release analyzes how little, in the estimate of the NAACP, Negro residential mobility helps desegregate, since the Negro carries his ghetto with him. Primary responsibility is placed on the Chicago Board of Education for failing to maintain equality of educational opportunity in Negro and mixed schools, so that "the school itself becomes an important contributing factor to the flight of Whites from a transition neighborhood."

NORTHWOOD, LAWRENCE K., "Ecological and Attitudinal Factors in Church Desegregation," *Social Problems*
Vol. 6, No. 2, Fall, 1958, pp. 150-163.

This is an investigation of the effects of ecological and attitudinal factors upon race relations policies of selected Protestant churches in Des Moines, Iowa. Factors include racial composition of church neighborhoods, income and occupational characteristics of parishioners, size and stability of churches, sectarian or denominational characteristics, position on segregation of local church's national body, and attitudes of ministers and congregation.

Churches are classified into totally segregated, partly integrated (up to but not more than one per cent cross-racial membership) and substantially integrated.

Twenty-six of 78 churches were partly or substantially integrated. Of these 26, 18, with a total of 18,400 members, were partly, and 8, with a total of 2,700 members, were substantially integrated.

Of the partly integrated, 60 per cent were made up of middle or upper middle-class persons and located in good neighborhoods; 50 per cent were established over 80 years ago; most of the others within the last five years in new residential areas. Substantially integrated churches consisted mostly of lower or working-class persons, situated in low income areas. These have been in existence an average of five years longer than partly integrated churches. Segregated churches, by contrast, had the lowest median number of members and highest median number of years in existence.

Most integration occurred among cross-racials of similar class standing.

Partial integration did not appear to inhibit church growth in predominantly White neighborhoods, and may even be conducive to church growth in mixed areas. But no clear-cut patterns can be discerned. Ministers were unsure what would happen if larger numbers of Negroes tried to join their churches. Only four of 78 local churches had local policy clearly established.

A larger proportion of denominational churches (community oriented) than of sectarian churches (inner-church oriented) have effected some integration. But sects which start to integrate tend to go the whole way, while denominations tend to stop at partly integrated. Sects seem more pressed to make decisions one way or another about segregation, and without any guidance from national bodies, since most are not affiliated. The author relates these tendencies to the distinctions between sects and denominations, including such things as the aggressive visitation policies of the former, and the reliance on dogmatic criteria in their decisions regarding new members.

One-third of denominational ministers did not know that their national bodies officially opposed segregation. Sectarian ministers behaved more in congruence with their own beliefs than did denominational ministers. Author notes that this denominational incongruence is not surprising in view of lack of centralization of authority. He feels his findings "again reaffirm the almost universal characterization of the church as a conservative, change-resisting institution."

PITTMAN, DAVID J., and HOLLAND, WILLIAM L., "Isolated Negro Penetration of White Residential Areas in a Metropolitan Community"

(Paper read at Annual Meeting of American Sociological Society, 1957).

This is a survey of all available Negro families who were living in predominantly White (less than 2 per cent non-White) areas in Rochester and suburbs (based on 1950 census data). Fifty-seven such families were located, and 43 were interviewed. The primary interest was three-fold: (1) process by which housing was obtained; (2) White neighbors' reactions and the causes; (3) amount of Negro family's interaction in neighborhood.

Sources for new homes for Negroes included: real estate agents, eleven; personal friends with agents prior to buying, four; intermediary, three; private deal with owner, nineteen; private deal with builder, three. Agents were available mainly for low status areas, hardly at all for higher status areas.

Judging by Negro respondents' reports, White reactions to Negro neighbors included: 19 cases of apparent acceptance without overt hostility; eight cases of moderate hostility, including ostracism and name-calling by children; but no concerted community reactions; and 16 cases of organized resistance and overt abuse.

The only sets of variables which seem able to account for the differences in reactions are status and ecological factors. Middle-class suburbanite areas were most resistant; sparsely settled areas on periphery of metropolitan community were least resistant. Middle-class urban areas, higher socio-economically in some cases than the suburban areas, were less resistant, indicating the inadequacy of socio-economic status by itself as an explanation of differences in reactions.

Social participation of Negroes with Whites ranged from rather complete interaction on all levels but the most intimate, to no interaction at all. Participation was greater in urban than suburban areas, greater in working-class than middle-class areas. No relationship can be shown between length of residence of Negro and his degree of participation. Authors conclude that "ecological placement" of area is the determinant. But authors are reluctant to consider that social participation is a reasonable index of actual degree of integration of Negroes into neighborhoods.

RECORD, WILSON, "Negroes in the California Agricultural Labor Force" (Paper read at meeting of American Sociological Society, 1958).

In spite of considerable growth of the Negro population in California (from less than one per cent in 1900 to nearly five per cent in 1950), and, in spite of periodic and high rates of unemployment, Negro labor in California has not sought economic refuge in migratory agricultural labor, and has not, in any significant degree, taken up farming. Negro migrants to California have moved first into cities and have resisted pressures to seek farm work. Favorable social welfare legislation in various California cities has contributed to this by providing barriers against extreme economic distress and by opening urban employment opportunities. FEPC bills have also helped. Additionally, produce growers have preferred not to hire Negroes except when perishable crops are in danger of being lost. Moreover, many local agricultural communities have made it difficult for Negroes to settle. Similarly, older Negro residents in these communities have resisted any influx of newcomers out of fear of status degradation. Since 1940, whatever jobs have been available in urban centers have been better paid, and the new job opportunities presented by the Korean War reversed a momentary trend toward seeking farm labor jobs.

Record feels that even if real farm shortages occurred, and, even if working conditions on farms became better, Negroes would remain reluctant to enter this particular labor group. "The colored migrant . . . from the South and Southwest is not the same after a few years of urban residence and employment. He is more sophisticated, more knowledgeable about the ways of city life, more aware of his alternatives, more racially conscious, and more inclined to create and use resources of his own in pursuit of racial interests. Having escaped the drudgery and humiliation of farm tenancy, he is not likely to seek a somewhat similar system of servitude in his new environment . . . his children will be even less inclined . . . City life has come to be regarded as both symbol and means of breaking with the past and moving upward socially.

"As the Negro improves his economic position and political power, he is in an increasingly better position to say 'NO' . . . to those who would persuade or force him into such employment."

SHORT NOTICES:

See also:

1. Center for Sociological Research (Western Michigan University), "Research Report on Integrated Housing in Kalamazoo, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research, Kalamazoo, Mich., pp. 30.

2. Dozier, Edward P., Simpson, George E., and Yinger, Milton J., "The Integration of Americans of Indian Descent," *The Annals*, Vol. 311, May, 1957, pp. 158-165.

3. Grier, George and Grier, Eunice. These two members of the research division of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination report a rather lengthy list of publications directly relevant to segregation and desegregation, most of them done under the auspices of SCAD. These include studies of race relations in Rochester, Albany-Troy, Syracuse and Broome County; Newark, New Jersey *et al.* Collaborators on various of these studies include Nathan Agran, Chester Rapkin, and Helen Amerman.

See "Market Characteristics in Interracial Housing," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1957, pp. 50-59.

4. Miller, Howard G. reports the availability of a study of changes in attitudes toward the Negro on the part of White female college students from North Carolina. Preliminary report published as Proceedings of North Carolina College Conference, Raleigh, North Carolina.

5. Record, Wilson reports the availability of articles on racial integration in the California schools and racial diversity in the California schools.

6. Stetler, Henry G., "Racial Integration in Private Residential Neighborhoods in Connecticut," *Commission on Civil Rights*, 1957, pp. 55.

7. Stetler, Henry G., "Racial Integration in Public Housing Projects in Connecticut," *Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights*, 1955, pp. 72.

8. Yinger, Milton J. and Simpson, George E., "The Integration of Americans of Mexican, Puerto Rican and Oriental Descent," *The Annals*, Vol. 304, March, 1956, pp. 124-131.

Legal Aspects of Segregation

GORDON, MILTON M., "The Girard College Case: Desegregation and a Municipal Trust," *The Annals* Vol. 304, March, 1956, pp. 53-61.

Stephen Girard died in 1831 and left a sizeable estate, estimated at 88 million dollars in 1955, in trust to the city of Philadelphia for the establishment of a "college" for the education and maintenance of "poor, male White orphans." He specified that the students be taught the "purest principles of morality," that they "should evince benevolence toward their fellow creatures" and should develop a "pure attachment to our republican institutions and to the sacred rights of conscience, as guaranteed by our happy constitutions."

Six Negro orphan boys, otherwise qualified except for race, applied in February 1954, were denied admission, and brought suit. On their behalf it was argued that the provisions of the will violated the Fourteenth Amendment; they further violated the public policy of the city, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the federal government; that, further, by the doctrine of *cy pres* (i.e., approximation) the will could be altered to fulfill the intent of the deceased; that the intent could not be achieved if the segregationist bar against Negro boys were maintained. Various social scientists were brought to testify regarding the impact of segregation, the changes in social circumstance since Girard's death, the significance for the city of maintenance of segregation by one city agency, the Board of Directors of City Trusts.

In rebuttal, counsel for the City Trusts argued that the trust is not subject to retroactive change, the Fourteenth Amendment having been passed after the Girard will was probated; that, further, the City, in administering the trust, was acting as an individual and not as a state, and hence the Fourteenth Amendment is not applicable; that *cy pres* is not applicable, since the intent included the racial restriction; that, finally, the burden of evidence is upon the city to cite *specific* rather than similar or analogical provisions forbidding the administration of the trust as stated; namely, that anti-segregation legislation in other areas of public life are not to testify to the liberality of teaching with regard to race; to the frequent visits of Negro speakers to the campus; the chances students had at other than formal school times to mix with Negroes; to the outstanding character of some of the graduates of the school; and to the fact that the graduates of Girard seemed no more prejudiced than the community at large. Thus, social science evidence for the plaintiffs is held to be opinion evidence, not relating directly to Girard College and is refuted by the direct evidence brought by the defendants.

The court ruled on behalf of the defendants, refusing to change the admissions policy; it held the city to be acting as an individual, and not as a state and thus not violative of the Fourteenth Amendment; Girard College is further declared to be a private institution. No specific evidence of violation of public policy by this particular

will is said to have been adduced; the changes in the social situation are deemed not relevant unless it can be shown that a change requires action in order to fulfill the testator's purpose. Thus it was ruled that the policy of exclusion of Negroes is not inherently harmful either to students at Girard or to public at large.

The author indicates in his discussion a concern for the areas and ways in which social science evidence may be legitimately brought to bear in such issues; whether high level generalizations might not sometimes be considered applicable to specific cases even if not developed out of any given case in question; whether the courts will someday come to concern themselves with validity of reputational reports of "competent" individuals as against survey data from larger samples (e.g., with regard to the attitudes and characteristics of graduates of Girard College). It is the author's estimate that given certain probable general social changes, "it would seem premature to conclude that the general beneficent intent of Stephen Girard can be securely attained by the retention of the racial restriction on admission to his college."

MEADOR, DANIEL J., "The Constitution and the Assignment of Pupils to Public Schools," ***Virginia Law Review***
Vol. 45, No. 4, May, 1959, pp. 517-571.

All students of desegregation would do well to study this article closely. It is specifically addressed to the question of *what is the minimum* which any community must do by way of school action in order to comply with the law. The author systematically reviews almost all the relevant adjudication which has gone on since the two Brown decisions, and concludes that so long as a community has no announced or explicit rule or intention to assign pupils by race, and so long as it provides for "equal treatment in the assigning process", the courts are not likely to find the community in violation of the law; not even, perhaps, if all the schools remain totally or almost totally segregated, so long as it can be shown that this is a function of residential segregation and not of deliberate racial segregation by the school board itself. The Alabama statutes seem to be a model of the minimum legislation which will pass judicial muster. The author, formerly clerk to Supreme Court Justice Black, and now associate professor of law at the University of Virginia, expresses approval of the current situation on the grounds that "a pupil assignment statute has the virtue of being the only arrangement which Southern legislators and the United States Supreme Court have agreed on as valid. This bit of common ground should be further explored. Perhaps under such a plan, for a while anyway, the schools can find shelter from the storm. And, possibly, by this means life and law may in time adjust so that in the South, universal, publicly supported education will survive and peace will return."

MURPHY, WALTER F., "Private Education with Public Funds," ***Journal of Politics***
Vol. 20, 1958, pp. 635-654.

Murphy reviews legislation and court decisions relevant to the constitutionality of private schools being instituted by Southern states as a technique to avoid desegregation. From a variety of previous situations, including Railroad Trainmen cases, White Primaries, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Restrictive Covenant cases, Murphy

concludes that the court is not likely to allow constitutional rights to be indirectly denied by official inaction, much less by quasi-official support of segregated private schools. The crucial question arises as to when private schooling, by its scope or its state-imposed standards, etc., becomes state schooling and thus subject to the Fourteenth Amendment.

MURPHY, WALTER F., "The South Counterattacks: The Anti-NAACP Laws," ***Western Political Quarterly***

Vol. 12, No. 2, June, 1959, pp. 371-390.

Murphy presents a thorough and systematic review of the Southern counterattack on desegregation in the form of various legislative measures designed to hinder and eliminate the NAACP. Murphy indicates the number of grounds on which the attack has been made, and the rigor with which the NAACP has met these attacks and shifted them from political to judicial grounds. He avers that the campaign against the NAACP will not permanently stymie integration; that, while in various places there may be a temporary obstruction of the work of the NAACP, this is not likely to endure court trials; that the counterattack is a form of escape valve for embittered Southerners, but runs the danger of hurting the South's "best chances . . . of coping with the problems of desegregation. As a moderate, elitist organization, the NAACP has opposed the more militant racial radicalism of both Communist and other agitators. If the gradual, legalistic approach of the NAACP is beaten or even becomes unproductive, it is more likely that Negroes, having enjoyed one taste of victory, will turn to extremist elements for support rather than docilely resume their old caste status."

ROSE, ARNOLD M., "Sociological Factors in the Effectiveness of Projected Legislative Remedies," ***Journal of Legal Education***

Vol. 11, No. 4, 1959, pp. 470-481.

The author makes some valuable and trenchant criticisms of the doctrine that social behavior cannot be changed by legislation. He points to the ways in which law, by restructuring institutions, and providing different forms within which behavior may occur, changes behavior. He suggests the varying circumstances under which legislation is likely to be more and less effective. Of greatest relevance for desegregation is his series of contentions that partially effective laws can be passed, so long as there is some fluidity in their provisions, and so long as there is stern and determined action by the various branches of the law enforcement agencies to implement the law. He deplores the effects, upon attitudes toward compliance, of the statement by Learned Hand and the report of the State Chief Justices of August 23, 1958. These, he feels, were more influential in hindering the implementation of the Brown decision than the actions of Faubus, Kasper or "even the mob violence." The author urges the possibility of support for law by the actions of semi-public agencies, such as those which might initiate law suits when a statute has been violated. The sparsity of Negro plaintiffs to test out various "resistance" legislation points up sharply the need for some more effective method to bring the matters to a judicial head.

TUMIN, MELVIN M. and ROTBERG, ROBERT, "Leaders, The Led, and The Law," ***Public Opinion Quarterly***

Vol. 21, No. 3, Fall, 1957, pp. 355-370.

This article studies the effect which the business, commercial, labor and religious leaders of a community have on the people and the law in the segregation question.

A basic assumption is made that resistance to integration lessens and more moderate attitudes are assumed in proportion to the awareness of the respondent that: (1) his membership in the large nationwide society is profitable in the long run, though perhaps costly in the short run; (2) action taken in any immediate issue may disserve long range values; (3) institutional arrangements, such as work and school make maintenance of personal exclusiveness costly; (4) other people may be hurt by his exclusive attitude. The leaders of society are the people who can most easily serve the interests of integration by helping the people to become more conscious of these facts.

To determine the effectiveness of the community leaders in the popular realization of these considerations, twenty-three men were selected out of leadership of Guilford County, North Carolina, without regard to their position on segregation. All except five of these men were native-born Southerners, and all but four had spent the major portion of their lives, including the years of schooling, in the South. Their length of residence in the county was generally the same. Therefore, differences of attitude because of length of residence or origin could be discounted. Roughly, three-fifths (fourteen) of those interviewed were pro-integration; and of those, more than half had publicly declared their views, even in the face of opposition from much of their constituent public, boards of trustees, or supervisors. "It seems eminently possible, then, for Southern leaders who favor desegregation to speak out on behalf of desegregation and still continue in their positions of leadership, if their positions are previously secure."

Both sides considered the desegregation of the public schools inevitable, the only difference being in the time of occurrence. Although some pro-integrationists felt that the Supreme Court decision was premature, the impetus which was given by the decision allowed them to assert their positions.

The presence of such a legal command sets a model of proper behavior, reinforces those who occupy positions of respected leadership or legitimate power, forces the opposition to attempt extra-legal measures to block the current toward integration, and places the offensive power in the hands of the integrationists, thus negating much of the weight carried by tradition.

With such benefits working in their behalf, the leaders who constantly speak out in favor of integration keep the public alert and well-informed on the issues related to the proposed new system. The leaders themselves must also be spurred in their turn, to keep them active, even though they deny the value of such strokes. The court has served in this capacity.

Not only is it possible for leaders to oppose segregation and maintain their positions, but also their "open posing of disagreements, i.e., the bringing of conflict out into the open, is positively functional for the side desiring social change and disfunctional for the side seeking to preserve the traditional way of life." Although they may be limited to mere moral denunciations of segregation, by doing this, they inform the public where the leaders stand; attach moral correctness to their side, forcing the opposition to extra-legal and extra-moral actions; and set a model of decorous conduct for the people to follow.

SHORT NOTICES:

See also:

1. American Jewish Congress, "State Anti-Discrimination Agencies and the Laws they Administer," pp. 21 (Mimeo).
2. American Jewish Congress, "The Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Bill: New York City's New Fair Housing Law, A Summary and Analysis," pp. 10 (Mimeo).
3. Berns, Walter F., "Precedent, History and Social Psychology as Factors in the Public School Desegregation Cases," pp. 20 (Mimeo).
4. Beth, Loren P., "The Efficacy of Judicial Decisions in Controlling Race Relations: The White Primary Cases," pp. 15 (Mimeo).
5. McKay, Robert B., "The Repression of Civil Rights as an Aftermath of the School Segregation Cases," pp. 44 (Mimeo).

Segregation and the Mass Media

CARTER, ROY E., Jr., "Segregation and the News: A Regional Content Study," *Journalism Quarterly* Winter, 1957, pp. 3-18.

This is a report of coverage of desegregation-related news by a series of selected newspapers, principally North Carolina dailies, during February and April, 1955. The author was concerned with what would be principal sources of the news items; how much over-all attention newspapers would give; how Negro stereotypes would be handled; and the differences in treatment and "play" given to the segregation story.

Findings were as follows:

1. Negroes most immediately concerned with desegregation (e.g., school teachers) rarely served as news sources, suggesting possible pressure on them to keep silence; most, even of pro-integration content, came from white sources.
2. Stereotypes of Negroes were sparse in news items, totally absent in editorials, most frequent in letters. Pro-segregationist papers tended more frequently to perceive a Negro as Negro rather than as an individual.
3. Space allocation was as follows: pro-integration, 27 per cent; pro-gradualism, 12 per cent; pro-segregation, 30 per cent; neutral, 31 per cent. In all papers, the total of pro-integration and gradualism content exceeded or equalled pro-segregation content. Slightly more than half of front-page material was pro-gradualism as against 42 per cent of pro-segregation stories.
4. Items reporting accomplished or prospective desegregation in other states accounted for one-seventh to one-fourth of all pro-integration news carried.
5. No significant pattern of intercorrelation was found among rankings of newspapers on their adequacy of treatment of desegregation; i.e., some papers, high on adequate editorial coverage, were low on news coverage, and vice versa. Yet, the paper highest on newspage attention was also highest on editorial-space coverage. In general, more inter-paper variability was found on editorial coverage than on news coverage.
6. In case of pro-segregationists, authorities appealed to by editorial writers and letter writers included Scripture, common sense, natural rights; and in case of desegregationists, "the facts," "statistics," public opinion polls, etc. No letter by an educator, nor any citation of an educator, appeared anywhere.
7. Five of eleven non-dailies published no news items about desegregation in either February or April. No pro-desegregation letters appeared in any of the eleven, and very little editorializing in any of them, either pro- or anti-segregation.

Author concludes that, in spite of the timeliness of the desegregation issue, and in spite of the high reputation for fairness and thoroughness of several of the papers, there was surprisingly little attention given to the story, and most of the attention

stemmed from outside news sources rather than items developed by papers themselves, either as background or coverage.

CARTER, ROY E., "Segregation and the Daily Newspaper"

Paper presented at May meeting of
American Association for Public Opinion Research, 1959.

This is a provisional report on daily newspaper handling of the desegregation issue during September and October 1956. In 90 papers chosen on a stratified probability sample basis from the United States at large, desegregation and race relations material comprised 1.8 per cent of the non-advertising space in Northern newspapers, 3.4 per cent in Border states, and 3.6 per cent in Resistant states (those in which no affirmative steps had been taken to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision).

A special study of desegregation materials was made upon the 30 Southern papers in the sample, and on a sub-sample of 29 Northern papers. Findings were as follows:

1. Editorials were infrequent and most often non-directional, even in Southern papers. About two-thirds of the editorials carried no discernible editorial preferences on segregation. About 9 per cent were clearly pro-integration, about the same per cent clearly pro-segregation. No significant correlation was found between the amount of total editorial attention given and the frequency of partisan stand-taking. Strongest support for integration came from Border state papers.

2. Classifying papers as segregationist or not, on the basis of editorial treatment was unsatisfactory; only slight relationship was found between newspage position and editorial position, as measured by the frequency of partisan assertions in newspage items.

3. No correlation of significance was found between editorial position and the percentage of Negroes in the county of publication, nor between editorial attention and the percentage of Negroes.

4. Stereotyping of Negroes occurred very infrequently (2.2 occurrences per week per paper in Resistant states); stereotypes were more often affirmed than attacked in all three areas, but somewhat less in Northern as against Southern papers (55 per cent vs. 76 per cent of all stereotypes). Most frequently affirmed stereotypes in Southern papers concerned lack of intelligence of the Negro; most frequently affirmed *and* denied stereotype concerned Negro laziness. In Northern papers, laziness was most frequently affirmed and denied; sexual threat most frequently affirmed. The Northern press advanced "ignorance" of the Negro more often than lack of intelligence. Stereotyping in Southern papers occurred most frequently in letters, least frequently in editorials.

5. Northern papers used race labels in headlines and text more frequently than Southern, but Border papers used race labels most of all. In no region was the percentage of headlines with race labels larger than 18.4 per cent.

6. Considerable variance between and within regions was found in the percentage of items used which were pro- or anti-segregation in content. Thus, in Southern state papers, of all partisan items, 30.5 per cent were pro-integration, 52.4 per cent were pro-segregation. In Northern state papers, 42.5 per cent were pro-integration, 44.5 per cent were pro-segregation. Border states were significantly closer to Northern.

7. Distortion through headlines and leads to emphasize violence occurred in only .4 of 1 per cent in Southern papers, .8 of 1 per cent in Northern.

8. Neither Northern nor Southern papers published disproportionate amounts of reports of violence from other areas; i.e., Southern papers reported violence in Southern areas three times more frequently than violence in Northern areas, and Northern papers reported Southern and Northern violence in about equal proportions.

TUMIN, MELVIN M., "Exposure to Mass Media and Readiness for Desegregation," ***Public Opinion Quarterly***

Vol. 21, No. 2, Summer, 1957, pp. 237-251.

This report has been incorporated and expanded at considerable length in Tumin's book DESEGREGATION: RESISTANCE AND READINESS (Princeton University Press, 1958). Briefly, the findings indicate that readiness for desegregation varies directly with degree of exposure to mass media, the differences between exposure-groups becoming statistically significant at the extremes.

Attitudes: Components, Correlates and Measurement

BERREMAN, JOEL, "Filipino Stereotypes of Racial and National Minorities," ***Pacific Sociological Review***

Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring, 1958, pp. 7-12.

The paper, a virtual replica in method of a study performed on Princeton students, examines the stereotypes held by Filipino students in the upper social class. One hundred thirty students of the University of the Philippines were asked to list at random six traits attributable to each of six racial groups: Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Spaniards, American Whites, and American Negroes. Lists of the twenty-four traits most mentioned in original tabulations were submitted for each ethnic group and then given to 480 university students, chosen at random, and 200 adults not in school but drawn from the Manila area.

Chinese: This group, though the largest minority in the islands, provokes much prejudice and economically restrictive legislation. The traits attributed to them reflect their business success and their social separateness mixed with traits nationalizing the hostility felt towards them. These stereotypes differed substantially from those held by the Princeton students and indicated that "where Filipinos have considerable experience with a group, their stereotypes are related to that experience and little influenced by Americans."

Japanese: As there have been no Japanese in the islands since the war, the attributes most mentioned tend to reflect the hostility provoked by the occupation troops. Again, there is little similarity between what Princeton students and Filipinos see except in three traits: industriousness, initiative and nationalism.

Indian: This small minority stands aloof from Filipino society and is, therefore, characterized most frequently by appearance and occupation, both of which differ markedly from those of the Filipinos themselves.

American Whites: Here there was a great divergence between the Filipino and Princeton tabulations. While we see ourselves as alert, ambitious, driving people, the Filipinos envision a privileged group of nice people whose two main faults are race prejudice and luxury-loving extravagance neither of which appear in our own self-portraits.

American Negroes: The Filipino stereotype of this minority reflects the connection which the two have experienced and are similar to Princeton stereotypes in only one characteristic: musical. In fact, the two studied groups often present the opposite ends of the pole in estimating the American Negro as in the case of industrious vs. lazy.

Spanish: Almost entirely in the upper class, this minority was dealt with in a manner which reflected its social position and the attitude provoked when the Filipinos were a Spanish colony. The traits: snobbish, aristocratic, domineering, show race prejudice projected by memory in spite of the similarity of religion and position.

The data obtained verified the two basic assumptions: that stereotyping is present in the Philippines and that it is indigenous. It is also certain that the stereotyping occurred independently in the Filipino and American societies. In calculating the consistency of Filipino stereotypes it was evident that some variable other than the amount of length of contact is operative. The author holds that the consistency of a stereotype will increase with time if contacts with members of the stereotyped groups are restricted and their roles are limited. Another reason offered for consistency is the uniformity and stability of the sub class from which the Filipino respondents were drawn. Their class structure renders them far more homogeneous than their Princeton counterparts and limits their range of contacts.

KILLIAN, LEWIS M., and HAER, JOHN L., "Variables Related to Attitudes Regarding School Desegregation Among White Southerners," ***Sociometry*** Vol. 21, No. 2, June, 1958, pp. 159-164.

The objects of this paper are to (1) classify a sample of White Southern population according to their attitudes toward the May 1954, court decision and the possibility of subsequent school desegregation, and (2) relate these orientations to important personal and social background characteristics, knowledge about segregation, attitudes toward Negroes, and willingness to take certain actions in connection with problems of desegregation.

The data was gathered by personal interview with a representative sample of 536 Whites of Tallahassee, Florida. These subjects were then broken up into four categories according to their views on the court decision: Acceptors (good decision—should start integrating the schools) 12.50 per cent; Compliers (bad decision—but must comply because it is the law) 11.75 per cent; Delayers (bad decision—resist integration by all legal means) 56.90 per cent; Resisters (bad decision—use all means to avoid integration) 17.16 per cent.

In order to trace possible group characteristics, each person was questioned about his or her background, attitude toward government and law, attitude toward Negroes, predisposition to take overt action, tendency to make segregation preservation a paramount value, and accuracy of information. It was discovered that certain characteristics tend to gravitate toward one pole or another.

College graduates, employed in professional or managerial positions, predominate as Acceptors; people with less than twelve years of schooling, employed as manual or service workers, as Resisters. Sex and personal involvement of children in school had no appreciable effect on categorization. Acceptors tend to agree and Resisters to disagree on questions of civil rights, while the former generally reject and the latter accept the inherent "mental and moral inferiority of Negroes." Acceptors would send their children to integrated schools and reject closure of the public schools, but Resisters gravitate to the opposite extreme on both points.

In the middle groups of Compliers and Delayers, there is often no distinguishable categorization; but, in cases where one exists, the Compliers lean toward the

Acceptors and the Delayers toward the Resisters. Such tendencies generally arise only when the person is forced, unilaterally, to make a decision by hypothetical situations.

Acceptors are generally found to be young, in addition to living half or less than half of their lives in the South; and Resisters are usually over fifty and do not ascribe civil rights to the individual, viewing them rather as abstract.

KUTNER, BERNARD, "Patterns of Mental Functioning Associated with Prejudice in Children," ***Psychological Monographs***
Vol. 72, No. 7, 1958.

Kutner asserts that "prejudice is a fact of mental organization as well as a mode of mental functioning." He thus seeks to discover whether there are relationships between prejudicial attitudes and patterns of thought and problem solution.

The subjects were 34 girls and 26 boys, seven-year-olds, in the second grade of a Massachusetts public school. All were roughly middle-or upper-class; the large majority were Jewish. Subjects were classified into the less-prejudiced (42) and the more-prejudiced, (18). They were then tested for inductive reasoning. Prejudiced children proved to be somewhat less capable of arriving at proper concepts without aid; they offered hypotheses and less adequate ones; they tended to jump to conclusions more frequently. Where perseveration occurred, less-prejudiced children appeared to turn it to advantage more often than the more-prejudiced children.

On tests for deductive reasoning, prejudiced children chose invalid conclusions more frequently; they showed more difficulty in arriving at valid conclusions when the problem was not put in syllogistic form; they tried out more "blind thrusts" before arriving at valid conclusions; they tended more often to simplify and concretize ambiguous problems; they showed less tendency to admit lack of knowledge.

On tests of problem-solving involving the establishment and breaking of induced mental sets, the results showed that prejudiced children were less task-oriented, not staying within the confines of a situation as often; they tended, also, to become discouraged and perplexed more easily; they showed less insight into problems.

Kutner concludes that the results show that mental characteristics of prejudiced and unprejudiced children are in distinct contrast.

POMPILO, PETER T., "The Relationship Between Projection and Prejudice; with a Factor Analysis of Anti-Semitic and Anti-Negro Attitudes," Ph.D. Dissertation, Catholic University, Washington, D. C., 1957

Pompilo sought to determine whether prejudicial attitudes toward minority groups reflect the projection of one's own undesirable traits; and, secondly, whether anti-Negro and anti-Semitic attitudes have a common underlying basis, i.e., whether there is a general prejudice factor or whether they represent separate and independent attitudes.

The population studied consisted of 32 fraternity brothers and another 149 male and female subjects used to normalize responses.

Results of testing revealed that there was no significant relationship between lack of insight and either anti-Semitic or anti-Negro attitudes. No evidence appeared, therefore, of a connection between prejudice and projection. Further, "the results do not suggest a general factor of prejudice but do support the idea that anti-Negroism and anti-Semitism are independent variables reflecting different attitudes toward these two groups." Three categories of attitudes emerge: those only anti-Semitic, those only anti-Negro and those anti-both groups. These three sets of attitudes are different from critical and antagonistic attitudes toward members of one's own group.

STRUENING, E. L., "Authoritarian Attitudes as a Function of Area of Specialization in a University Faculty"

(Private copy of unpublished paper.)

Almost 1000 members of a midwestern faculty, stratified by department and rank, were studied, by means of a modified, 18 item, F scale, to assess relationship between department and authoritarianism. Rank order of means, from high to low, ran as follows: Administration, 49.0; Pharmacy, 44.9; Physical Education, 44.3; Military Science, 43.4; Agriculture, 36.9; Education, 36.7; Engineering, 34.6; Chemistry, 32.4; Library Science, 30.4; Home Economics, 29.5; Biology, 28.8; Modern Languages, 28.6; History, Government, Economics, 27.6; Mathematics, 24.8; Physics, 21.9; Speech, 18.3; English and Art, 17.0; Psychology and Sociology, 13.2.

Author concludes that area of specialization is an important variable in predicting the distribution of authoritarian attitudes in a university faculty and that the distribution follows psychologically understandable rationale. It is inferred that authoritarian attitudes may be important predisposing variables in the choice of one's specialization.

TUMIN, MELVIN M., "Imaginary vs. Real Children: Some Southern Views on Desegregation," *School and Society*

October 11, 1958, pp. 357-360.

This report has been incorporated and expanded in Tumin's book, DESEGREGATION: RESISTANCE AND READINESS (Princeton University Press, 1958). Briefly, the findings are that, in a sample of heads of households in Guilford County, North Carolina, the significance of children for attitudes of parents toward desegregation is curiously variable. No significant differences are found in attitudes of those with female as against those with male children, nor those with both boys and girls. Nor does the fact that the child is attending school or not, seem to matter. The only significant aspect in this complex appears to be the number of children. Those with no children or with four or more are most resistant to desegregation. Those with three children are most favorable to desegregation. The lack of any real stake in the school system for the childless is suggested as the reason for their attitudes; the low economic and social status of those with four or more children is suggested as the reason for their attitudes.

TUMIN, MELVIN M., "Readiness and Resistance to Desegregation: A Social Portrait of the Hard Core," ***Social Forces***
Vol. 36, No. 3, March, 1958, pp. 256-263.

This report has been incorporated and expanded in Tumin's book, DESEGREGATION: RESISTANCE AND READINESS (Princeton University Press, 1958). Briefly, the findings indicate that those most resistant to desegregation, in a sample drawn of heads of households in Guilford County, North Carolina, are characterized as follows: (1) They are slightly younger than their neighbors; (2) They belong to churches about as frequently; (3) They attend church as frequently; (4) They are stable in their residence patterns, but are somewhat more concentrated in rural areas; (5) Their earning power is significantly lower; (6) They have many fewer white collar and professional workers, proportionately speaking; (7) They are generally less well educated; (8) They are as educationally mobile as others, measured by the percentage who have gone beyond their fathers' grammar school status; (9) They are as occupationally mobile as others, measured by the percentage who have moved out of their fathers' blue collar into their own white collar status; (10) They are significantly less exposed to the mass media.

TUMIN, MELVIN M., BARTON, PAUL, and BURRUS, BERNIE, "Education, Prejudice and Discrimination: A Study in Readiness for Desegregation," ***American Sociological Review***
Vol. 23, No. 1, February, 1958, pp. 41-49.

This report is developed at considerable length in Tumin's book DESEGREGATION: RESISTANCE AND READINESS (Princeton University Press, 1958). Briefly, the findings indicate that the more exposed to the schools, the less is the willingness of the respondent to take drastic action to prevent desegregation or interfere with legal mandates. The differences between the less and the better educated are not very great in their images of the Negro or their sentiments about contact and relationships with him. But the differences grow unquestionably significant when courses of *action* are involved. Even the least educated and the most prejudiced show a sharp decline in their intransigence when questions of concrete action are posed, although this decline is not as strong as compared to the better educated. Sample consisted of White members of the labor force in Guilford County, North Carolina.

Symposia, Articles and Bibliographies of Special Interest

1. AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, "THE MYTHS OF RACIAL INTEGRATION." Nine major "myths" about integration (e.g., depreciation of property values, etc.) are examined briefly in this mimeo release published in November 1957. 11 pp.

2. COOK, STUART, "DESEGREGATION: A PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS," *American Psychologist*, Vol. 12, No. 1, January, 1957, pp. 1-13. This is Cook's Presidential address to the 1956 meeting of the New York State Psychological Association and is a most valuable overview.

3. EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE, LEARNING AND TEACHING IN ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1955-56, Part I: Report of Survey and Findings, 48 pp.; Part II: Charts, Figures and Tables.

Note: This is an extremely careful and well-documented study of certain measurable aspects of the problem of integrating both teachers and students in the Atlanta Public Schools.

4. GROUP FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF PSYCHIATRY, "PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION," Report No. 37. Formulated by Committee on Social Issue of GAP, May 1957. This is a formulation of a psychological approach to desegregation which was prepared by a distinguished group of psychologists and psychiatrists. It contains a valuable annotated reading list. 95 pp.

5. "HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE MORAL CHALLENGE," A condensation of presentations at the 15th Annual Institute of Race Relations at Fisk University, 1958. Contributors include Herman Long, G. McLeod Bryan, Irwin Sobel, Ben Segal, Don Shoemaker, Harold Fleming, Omer Carmichael, Lewis Jones, John Burma, P. L. Prattis, Robert Johnson, Dan Dodson, and Thurgood Marshall. 64 pp.

6. "RACE AND INTELLIGENCE." This is a joint statement by 18 psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists regarding what they think the evidence of science has to say about connections between racial classifications and mental functioning. Copies of this statement can be secured either from the Southern Regional Council or the Anti-Defamation League.

7. SPSSI, "THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN DESEGREGATION: A SYMPOSIUM," published by the Anti-Defamation League, August, 1958. Contributors include R. Nevitt Sanford, Robert Bower, Martin Deutsch, Bernard Fischman, Otto Klineberg, Setsuko Nishi, Rutherford Stevens, Melvin Tumin and Bonita Valien. These are revised versions of papers given at the 1958 meeting of SPSSI. 48 pp.

8. VIET, JEAN (compiler) "SELECTED DOCUMENTATION FOR THE STUDY OF RACE RELATIONS," International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation, UNESCO publication, No. 9, 1958, a series of "Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences." This is a valuable compilation consisting of (1) Bibliography of Books and Articles on Race Relations, 1953-6; (2) Periodicals dealing with Race Relations; (3) Research Institutions and Relevant Research in the Field of Race Relations. 81 pp.

9. WECHSLER, HERBERT, "TOWARD NEUTRAL PRINCIPLES OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW," The Oliver Wendell Holmes Lecture, delivered at Harvard Law School, April 7, 1959. Wechsler is the Harlan Fiske Stone Professor of Constitutional Law at Columbia University and one of the most influential leaders of thought in the field of constitutional law. In this speech he questions seriously certain of the implications of the school desegregation decisions, strongly suggesting that they depart far from neutral and workable principles of constitutional law.

FIELD REPORTS:

The following eight reports contain the findings of field investigations of problems and processes of desegregation in various communities in the United States. These reports were done by independent scholars, and, with two exceptions, were published by the Anti-Defamation League with the cooperation of the Society for the Study of Social Problems. The Washington and St. Louis reports were published alone by the Anti-Defamation League.

1. BREED, WARREN, COLLEGE DESEGREGATION WITHOUT POPULAR SUPPORT. 16 pp. A study of events surrounding the court order to desegregate Lamar State College in Beaumont, Texas.

2. GIFFIN, ROSCOE, STURGIS, KENTUCKY: A TENTATIVE DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CRISIS. 11 pp. Study is concerned with the desegregation of public schools in Sturgis.

3. GRIFFIN, JOHN H. and FREEDMAN, THEODORE, MANSFIELD, TEXAS: A REPORT OF THE CRISIS SITUATION RESULTING FROM EFFORTS TO DESEGREGATE THE SCHOOL SYSTEM. 16 pp.

4. HANSEN, CARL F., MIRACLE OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT: DESEGREGATION IN THE WASHINGTON, D.C. SCHOOLS. 70 pp. This is a report by the then assistant superintendent of schools in Washington, D.C., on the problems met and solved in the course of desegregating the Washington schools.

5. HOLDEN, ANNA, VALIEN, BONITA, and VALIEN, PRESTON, CLINTON, TENNESSEE: A TENTATIVE DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CRISIS. 24 pp.

6. JONES, LEWIS, and SMITH, STANLEY, TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA: VOTING RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE. 46 pp.

7. SMITH, CHARLES and KILLIAN, LEWIS, THE TALLAHASSEE BUS PROTEST. 23 pp.

8. VALIEN, BONITA, THE ST. LOUIS STORY. 72 pp.

REPORTS PUBLISHED BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

(63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Rm. 432, Atlanta 3, Ga.)

1. GREEN, DONALD R., and GAUERKE, WARREN E., IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED . . . : A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan. 1959, 40 pp.
2. PRICE, MARGARET, THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT IN THE SOUTH. 1959, 83 pp.
3. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, "PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA," Report No. L-5, June 12, 1959, 4 pp. (Excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis Rader, General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Va.)
4. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, "THE PRIVATE SCHOOL ANSWER TO THE DESEGREGATION CRISIS: THE VIRGINIA EXPERIENCE," Report No. L-9, Sept. 1, 1959, 6 pp.
5. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, "HOUSING FOR NEGROES IN ATLANTA, GA.", Report No. SRC 10, June 24, 1959, 9 pp.
6. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE AND NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A., INTIMIDATION, REPRISAL AND VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH'S RACIAL CRISIS, 1959, 30 pp.